

Department of State
State Dept. declassification & release instructions on file



News Letter

No. 95 • March 1969

IN THIS ISSUE

The News Letter is published monthly by the Department of State to acquaint its officers and employees, at home and abroad, with developments of interest which may affect operations or personnel.

The deadline for submitting material for publication is the 20th of each month.

Contributions from the field may be submitted by an Operations Memorandum with the subject title: News Letter.

in the Department, contributions should be in writing and addressed to the News Letter, O/PA, Room 7419.

The Department of State News Letter, primarily intended for internal communications, is now available to the general public through the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The domestic subscription rate is \$4.50 a year. There is an additional charge of \$1.00 for foreign mailing. A single copy sells for 40 cents.

EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor Gerson H. Lush
Associate Editor Paul W. Ramsey
Staff Assistant John Kelso
Staff Assistant Karen J. Corso

NATO AFTER TWO DECADES <i>It has preserved the peace in Europe</i>	2
THE SECRETARY ON NON-PROLIFERATION <i>He asks Senate for early favorable action</i>	4
U.S. RENEWS PLEDGE TO OECD <i>A statement by Under Secretary Richardson</i>	6
INTELSAT CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON <i>Its aim: a permanent communications agreement</i>	8
THE WAR OF PACIFICATION <i>As seen by a CORDS official in Viet-Nam</i>	16
SUBSTANTIAL PAY RAISES PROPOSED <i>New schedules would be effective in July</i>	19
THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS REVIEWED <i>An address by the OAS Secretary General</i>	22
THE NEW NATIONS <i>Last of a series by The Geographer</i>	26
THE PRESIDENT VISITS EUROPE <i>A picture story of his 8-day trip</i>	30
DEPARTMENTS AND FEATURES:	
Major Appointments, 12; Capitol Hill, 18; New Directives, 35; FSI Courses, 37; Obituaries, 40; AAFSW, 41; Geographic Quiz, 42; Bureau Notes, 43; Personnel, 57; Books, inside back cover.	



20 YEARS OF PEACE

THE COVER—Foreign Ministers of NATO's 15 member states will gather in Washington next month to mark the Twentieth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty. See story on page 2.

Economic Reports Required of Posts Sharply Curtailed

About 1,630 repetitive economic reports required annually of Foreign Service posts under the Current Economic Reporting Program (CERP) have been eliminated.

The 37.9 percent reduction in the CERP reports, from 4,299 to 2,669, came as a result of the intensive scrutiny given economic reporting by the BALPA Step 4 Task Force, the Foreign Reporting Division in the Bureau of Economic Affairs (E/CBA/REP), and various other Agencies and Departments, including Commerce, Treasury, and Labor.

During the review process, each requirement for each post was reviewed according to the criteria of essentiality and availability of the information in Washington.

The necessity for a continuing review of economic reporting requirements was pinpointed by Operation BALPA. (See NEWS LETTER, June, 1968). The Foreign Reporting Division was assigned this responsibility last August upon the recommendation of the former Step 4 Task Force.

Posts also were requested to review continuously their requirements and to question reports which seem unessential or duplicative, or which could be satisfied by the submission of foreign publications.

Similarly E/CBA/REP invites all economic reporting officers to review with them the present CERP country requirements and post reporting while on consultation in Washington.

Foreign Service Club Formed in California

Former employees of the Foreign Service and other U.S. civilian or military organizations who have served abroad and who are now living in San Francisco or its environs have been invited to join the Foreign Service Club of the Bay Area.

Newly elected officers for 1969 are Vincent Kuehlmann, P.O. Box 282, Corte Madera, Marin County, California, President; Mrs. Doris Bebb, Asia Foundation, San Francisco, Secretary; and Miss Ethel G. Berenko, of San Francisco, Publicity Chairman.

Anyone in the Bay Area may obtain additional information from Mr. Kuehlmann at his home, 924-4892, after 6 P.M., or at his office, 397-4071, in San Francisco.

NEW DIRECTIVES ISSUED

Organization

The National Security Council has been designated by the President as the principal forum for consideration of national security policy issues requiring Presidential decision. The President has assigned to the Secretary authority and responsibility to the full extent permitted by law for the over-all direction, coordination, and supervision of interdepartmental activities of the United States Government overseas. The Interdepartmental Regional Groups (IRG) and the Political-Military Interdepartmental Groups have been reconstituted as the NSC Interdepartmental Groups (NSC-IG) (FAMC-521).

The Bureau of Inter-American Affairs (ARA-LA) has established the position of Deputy Assistant Secretary for Social and Civic Development—Associate U.S. Coordinator for Program Planning. A reorganization in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs (EA) reassigned the country responsibilities of three Country Directors into two as follows: (a) Country Director for Laos and Cambodia (EA/LC), and (b) Country Director for Thailand and Burma (EA/TB) (TL:ORG-24).

General

Overseas Schools—A simplified method of handling funds in administering AID's dependent education program is provided in Uniform State/AID TI:GEN-118.

Finance

The requirement for paying local salaries and American allowances in foreign currency in excess and near-excess currency countries is restated to reflect current policy considerations. (Uniform State/USIA TL:FIN-127).

Salary rates for Executive Levels I through V were increased in accordance with the Federal Salary Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-206) effective with the first pay period commencing after February 14, 1969 (TL:FIN-128).

Cashier operations were incorporated in a new section 390 in 4 FAM. Other parts of Section 300, Cash Accounting, were revised and reorganized to bring them up to date and withdraw material now included in section 390. (Uniform State/USIA TL:FIN-129).

Reporting requirements for the Department of the Treasury were reduced. Only one monthly SF-1221, Statement of Transactions, is prepared for the Bureau of Accounts to include all transactions formerly reported at the division level (TL:FIN-130).

General Services

Commercial ocean bills of lading, issued by American-flag carriers must state that the shipment is being made under all terms and conditions of the U.S. Government Bill of Lading. Shipments made by foreign-flag carriers are to be under the terms and conditions of the U.S. Government Bill of Lading whenever possible (Uniform State/AID/USIA TL:GS-H-41).

Because of the need to replace worn out and nonapproved containers, the moratorium is canceled on the purchase of combination safe files.

Citizenship and Passports

A checklist of current pages has been issued for 8 FAM (TL:CP-28).



RETIREES—Dr. Lewis K. Woodward, Jr., center, retired last month after serving 13 years with the Medical Division, of which he formerly was the Director. More recently he had been a Special Assistant to Dr. George I. Mishtowt, left, the present Director of the Division. He holds a Certificate, signed by Secretary Rogers, appointing Dr. Woodward a Consultant to the Division. Ambassador John M. Steeves, Director General of the Foreign Service, holds a Certificate of Appreciation given Dr. Woodward. In his 13 years with the Department, Dr. Woodward traveled over one million miles, visiting posts around the world.



Department of State

News Letter

No. 94 • February 1969

IN THIS ISSUE

The News Letter is published monthly by the Department of State to acquaint its officers and employees, at home and abroad, with developments of interest which may affect operations or personnel.

The deadline for submitting material for publication is the 20th of each month.

Contributions from the field may be submitted by an Operations Memorandum with the subject title: News Letter.

In the Department, contributions should be in writing and addressed to the News Letter, O/PA, Room 7419.

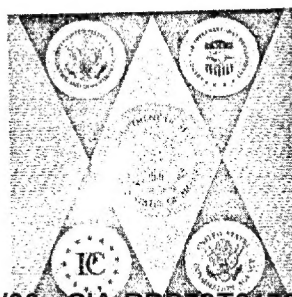
The Department of State News Letter, primarily intended for internal communications, is now available to the general public through the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The domestic subscription rate is \$4.50 a year. There is an additional charge of \$1.00 for foreign mailing. A single copy sells for 40 cents.

THE PRESIDENT VISITS THE DEPARTMENT <i>He asks for options from his advisers</i>	2
NEW CHALLENGES TO THE DEPARTMENT <i>The Secretary's message on NSC changes</i>	6
SECRETARY ROGERS VIEWS HIS JOB <i>As an opportunity to contribute to peace</i>	8
ACTION ON NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY <i>The President asks for consent to ratify</i>	12
BUDGET REQUESTS WILL BE REVIEWED <i>White House gives it first priority</i>	13
ABOUT THE NEW NATIONS <i>Second in a series by The Geographer</i>	16
THE EMPLOYEE SERVICES CENTER <i>It lives up to its name</i>	19
AID TO BRITAIN, MODERN STYLE <i>U.S. shares management techniques</i>	22
SELECTED INDEX TO NEWS LETTERS OF 1968 <i>A ready reference to information in 12 issues</i>	49
DEPARTMENTS AND FEATURES:	
Major Appointments, 10; Geographic Quiz, 17; FSI Courses, 24; New Directives, 25; AAFSW, 27; Obituaries, 30; Bureau Notes, 33; Personnel, 46; RA News, 48; Books, inside back cover.	

EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor Gerson H. Lush
Associate Editor Paul W. Ramsey
Staff Assistant John Kelso
Staff Assistant Barnett B. Lester
Staff Assistant Karen J. Corso



THE COVER — Secretary Rogers' messages on the opposite page and on page 6 reemphasize the collective role of the principal foreign affairs agencies whose official seals appear on the

On New Challenges to the Department

Secretary Rogers, in a special message to employees of State, AID, USIA, ACDA and the Peace Corps—in the U.S. and overseas—outlined steps taken by President Nixon to “restructure” the National Security Council system, and explained the role of the Department in the development and execution of U.S. foreign policy.

“The President’s decisions,” he declared, “place challenging responsibilities before all of us in the Department of State.”

The Secretary’s statement follows:

The President has assigned to the Department of State authority and responsibility to the full extent permitted by law for the overall direction, coordination and supervision of interdepartmental activities of the United States Government overseas. (As in the past this assignment does not include activities of United States military forces operating in the field where such forces are under the command of a United States area military

commander or such other military activities as the President may elect as Commander-in-Chief to conduct through military channels.)

It is the President’s intention that the Department of State will also play a central and dynamic role in the new National Security Council system. This role will be performed principally through the participation of the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary at all NSC meetings, the newly-constituted NSC Under Secretaries Committee chaired by the Under Secretary and in his absence the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Department of State participation on the NSC Review Group, and through the Interdepartmental Groups of regional and functional composition which are chaired by Assistant Secretaries of State. These responsibilities provide the Department a role of leadership which will require imagination and energy to be asserted by all involved.

The resources of the Department

and its associated agencies will provide the strongest possible support to the President’s desire to use the National Security Council system for an orderly examination of our foreign policy objectives.

The Department of State will energetically execute United States policy objectives overseas in accordance with the President’s decision. Ambassadors and our missions abroad will be depended upon for initiatives and support. Country Directors, under the guidance of their Assistant Secretaries, will exercise leadership in the Washington community in policy and program matters relating to the countries under their jurisdiction and in support of our missions abroad.

The President’s goal is to enhance and insure the security and peaceful progress of the United States. Our success in this objective will contribute to the well-being of free people everywhere.

The President Reorganizes the National Security Council System

Foreign Affairs Manual Circular, No. 521, dated February 6, deals with the “Reorganization of the National Security Council System and Direction, Coordination and Supervision of Interdepartmental Activities Overseas.”

The text follows:

1. Reorganization of the National Security Council System

To assist him in carrying out his responsibilities for the conduct of national security affairs, the President has designated the National Security Council as the principal forum for consideration of national security policy issues requiring Presidential decision. In addition to utilizing the NSC itself he has reorganized the NSC system to constitute certain groups and committees, and has designated responsibilities to the Department of State, as described below:

a. NSC Interdepartmental Groups

The previously existing Interdepartmental Regional Groups and the Political-Military Interdepartmental Group have been reconstituted as Interdepartmental Groups in the NSC system, chaired by the appropriate Assistant Secretary of the Department of State. The membership of these Groups will include representatives of the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of Central Intelligence, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other agencies at the discretion of the Chairman depending on the issue under consideration.

The Interdepartmental Groups will:

—discuss and decide interdepartmental issues which

can be settled at the Assistant Secretary level, including issues arising out of the implementation of NSC decisions;

—prepare policy papers for consideration by the NSC;
—prepare contingency papers on potential crisis areas for NSC review.

b. NSC Ad Hoc Groups

When appropriate, the President will appoint NSC Ad Hoc Groups to deal with particular problems, including those which transcend regional boundaries.

c. NSC Review Group

An NSC Review Group has been established to examine papers such as those coming out of the Interdepartmental Groups, NSC Ad Hoc Groups, or departments prior to their submission to the NSC. The Review Group, chaired by the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, will include representatives of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of Central Intelligence, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other agencies at the discretion of the Chairman, depending on the issue under consideration. The Review Group will review papers to assure that:

—the issue under consideration is worthy of NSC attention;

—all realistic alternatives are presented;

—the facts, including cost implications, and all departments’ and agencies’ views are fairly and adequately set forth.

The Review Group may assign action to the NSC Interdepartmental Groups or NSC Ad Hoc Groups, as

appropriate, and may refer issues to the Under Secretaries Committee. Approved For Release 2001/09/06 : CIA-RDP79T01762A000900020005-3

d. The NSC Under Secretaries Committee

An NSC Under Secretaries Committee has been established under the Chairmanship of the Under Secretary of State, assisted by the Under Secretary for Political Affairs who will also act as his alternate, consisting of the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the Director of Central Intelligence, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and, depending on the issues under consideration, ranking officers of other agencies at the discretion of the Chairman. The Under Secretaries Committee will consider:

- (1) issues referred to it by the NSC Review Group;
- (2) operational matters pertaining to interdepartmental activities of the U.S. Government overseas:
 - on which NSC Interdepartmental Groups have been unable to reach agreement, or which are of a broader nature than is suitable to any such group;
 - which do not require consideration at Presidential or NSC level; and
 - which are referred to it by the Secretary of State.
- (3) other operational matters referred to it jointly by the Under Secretary of State and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

2. Authority and Responsibility of the Secretary of State

a. The President has affirmed the position of the Secretary of State as his principal foreign policy adviser and his responsibility, in accordance with approved policy, for the execution of foreign policy.

b. He has assigned to the Secretary authority and responsibility to the full extent permitted by law for the overall direction, coordination and supervision of interdepartmental activities of the United States Government overseas. This authority includes continuous supervision

and general direction of economic assistance, military and health care programs, as provided in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. (The authority does not extend to

(1) the activities of United States military forces operating in the field where such forces are under the command of a United States area military commander,

(2) such other military activities as the President elects to conduct through military channels, and

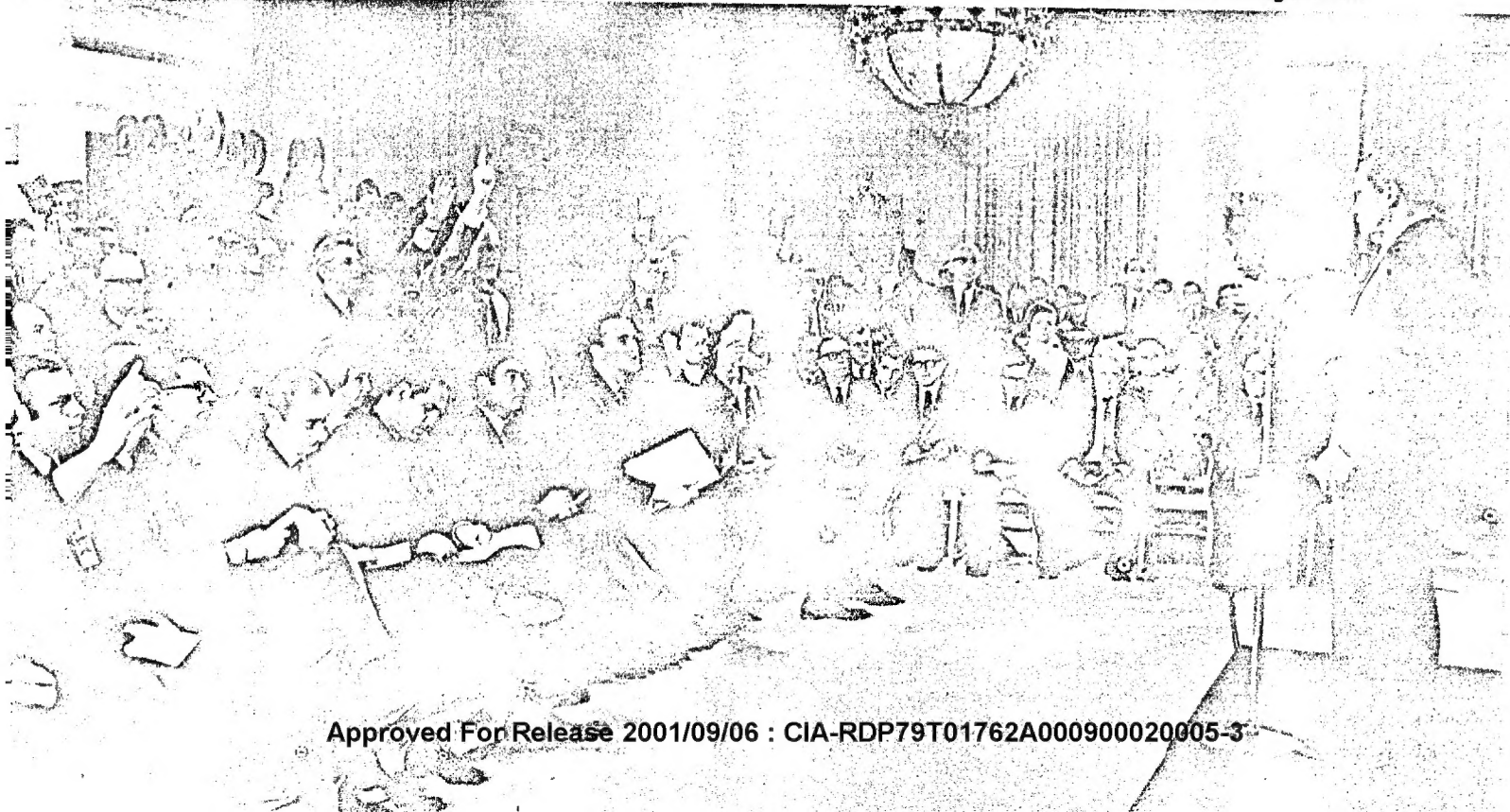
(3) activities which are internal to the execution and administration of the approved programs of a single department or agency and which are not of such a nature as to affect significantly the overall U.S. overseas program in a country or region.)

c. Previously established responsibilities of the Department of State by virtue of law or Executive Order with respect to such matters as international educational and cultural affairs, information activities, foreign assistance, food for peace, arms control and disarmament, supervision of programs authorized by the Peace Corps Act, social science research, immigration and refugee assistance continue in effect.

d. In the implementation of his responsibilities for the execution of foreign policy and for the direction, coordination and supervision of interdepartmental activities overseas the Secretary of State intends to utilize, in addition to the normal resources of the Department, the system of NSC Interdepartmental Groups and the Under Secretaries Committee outlined above. Within the purview of these responsibilities executive authority is delegated by the Secretary to the Chairmen of these Committees.

e. Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions in foreign countries, as representatives of the President and acting on his behalf, continue to be in charge of all elements of the United States Diplomatic Mission and to exercise affirmative responsibility for the direction, coordination and supervision of all activities of the United States Government in their respective countries.

President Nixon is shown at his first press conference in the White House on Jan. 27, one week after his inauguration.



SIG + AFTERMATH

THE
DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

BULLETIN

Vol. LIX, No. 1538



December 16, 1968

SAIGON GOVERNMENT TO JOIN PARIS PEACE TALKS 621

SECRETARY FOWLER INTERVIEWED ON "FACE THE NATION" (Excerpts) 629

GROUP OF TEN AGREES ON SHORT-TERM MEASURES
TOWARD MONETARY STABILITY

Statement by Secretary Fowler and Text of Communique 627

OUR COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE HEMISPHERE
by Assistant Secretary Oliver 632

ORGANIZING THE MANAGEMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
by Under Secretary Katzenbach 623

For index see inside back cover

Organizing the Management of Foreign Affairs

by Under Secretary Katzenbach¹

It is a pleasure to be in Norfolk and to participate in this foreign policy conference. These regional conferences seek to bring the issues of foreign policy closer to concerned citizens in all parts of the country. As such, they both represent and facilitate a most significant part of the democratic process: the exchange of views between the public and those who are responsible for shaping public policy.

I would like this afternoon to put forward for your consideration an important aspect of American foreign policy, one not involving wars or crises in particular areas of the world but how policy itself is made.

The mechanisms through which foreign policy decisions are formed may not be as dramatic or vivid a subject as the war in Viet-Nam or what is happening in Czechoslovakia or the Middle East. But in many ways it is as important. For how you organize policy determines what the policy becomes. The shape of the administrative structure has a definitive influence on the shape of the policy that emerges from it. And thus it affects how exactly we cope with all those many problem areas in the world and how precisely we deal with all those crises that fill up the headlines.

One of the first problems facing any new President is how to organize the Government so that it will be responsive to his policies. How does he make the whole vast governmental apparatus bend to his views, follow his ideas, and respond to his wishes?

In the first instance the President, of course, makes his own appointments to the high-level policy positions. These, however, constitute a relative handful—some 500 in all—among the

many thousands of civilian Government employees. What I believe “making the entire mechanism responsive” means in practice is instilling a sense of participation and commitment all the way down the line. It means involving as many people as possible in what is happening. It means bringing the formation of policy and the execution of policy together in such a way that those who are carrying out a decision do so with the feeling of having taken part in the process which arrived at it in the first place.

This is no easy achievement, and it is particularly difficult in the area of foreign policy. The shaping of foreign policy is more complicated than formulating domestic policy because it involves reacting to so many variables which are utterly beyond our control. When the government of a friendly country falls victim to a military coup, or when two of our allies quarrel, or when the currency of another country is weakened by speculation, or when an anti-American demonstration occurs in a neutral capital, or when a hostile nation makes new threats, we are called on to respond to a situation not of our making.

The shaping of foreign policy is also more complicated than domestic policy because it has so many sides and so many ramifications. Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson tells how he and General Omar Bradley, who was then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, once entered into a secret agreement. They agreed that

¹ Address made on Nov. 22 at Norfolk, Va., at a regional foreign policy conference cosponsored by the Department of State and the Norfolk Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with Virginia Wesleyan College, Old Dominion College, and the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College.

henceforth the phrases "from a purely military point of view" and "from a purely political point of view" would be banned as utterly meaningless.

Interrelated Facets of Foreign Policy

The point, of course, is that foreign policy is now made up of so many interrelated facets—military, economic, cultural, labor, agricultural, commercial, and so on—that it is no longer possible to consider one facet without considering all the others. And inasmuch as so many separate agencies of the Government are thus involved in the hammering out of policy, enormous problems of coordination and duplication of function, as well as serious differences of view, exist and must be contended with.

Few people realize it, but the Department of State now runs only a relatively small portion of the programs and activities involved in the management of foreign affairs. Virtually every Cabinet-level department of the Government has dealings overseas, as do such agencies as the AEC and the FAA. With the postwar creation of agencies like USIA, AID, and CIA, over 80 percent of all Americans serving abroad, even excluding troops under purely military command, are now employed directly by agencies other than the Department of State.

And as far as annual agency budgets go, the State Department's is not even in the same league.

Yet despite—or perhaps because of—its disadvantaged role in terms of budgets and the control of large operations or programs, the Department of State must still play the central guiding role. Since I will soon be out of government, I hope I can say without anyone mistaking it as a symptom of vested interest that I am convinced that the Department of State must be *primus inter pares* among all the agencies of the Government dealing with foreign affairs. And it must be first not just in name or protocol but in the actual weight given to its word in policy councils. It must have this role, I believe, not because it has an especial wisdom or virtue but because it is in the best position to assess how the programs of the many other agencies dealing in foreign affairs affect the overall requirements of American policy.

Of all the agencies concerned with foreign affairs, the State Department is the only one

without a domestic constituency whose needs it must consider and cater to. It has no interests to protect and hence no clear departmental bias. Being without an operating program, it has no reason to push one type of response rather than another. It can take a more objective view as to whether it would be wiser, let us say, to provide more military or more agricultural aid to a particular country. As the only nonoperational agency, and the only one whose sole business is policy formulation, in other words, it can be the most responsive to the President's wishes.

Differing Policy Functions and Interests

To make the interrelationship of the many agencies dealing with foreign affairs clearer, it might be helpful to mention the role of just a few principal ones.

The Department of Defense, of course, controls overseas military operations, which have wide and fundamental foreign policy implications. When we seek the use of foreign bases in a country, we may be changing the whole nature of our relations with it; and if we remove our bases, we may be dealing it a serious economic blow. United States troop deployments may be welcomed by one country as increasing the American stake in its security, while another country might be concerned that such a move would leave it more subject to Soviet pressure. The Defense Department's 2.5 million men, \$80 billion budget, and large number of talented civilian personnel make its voice one that is difficult to ignore. The Defense Department also deals in tangibles—troops, tanks, planes, guns. Most other aspects of foreign affairs—influence, promotion of democracy, economic development—are relative intangibles, lending themselves far less readily to easy quantitative treatment. Policymakers, not to mention Congressmen, find it harder to come to grips with them.

Our military deployments abroad provide another good example, incidentally, of how military decisions have a major effect on United States foreign policy. In this case, however, the reasons are financial, and the Treasury Department plays a key role. Overseas military deployments eat up foreign exchange and are thus a major source of our payments difficulties. While the Treasury Department has generally avoided taking sides on the issue of United States troop

levels in Europe, it insists very forcefully that the balance-of-payments implications be faced and the necessary compensatory actions be taken.

Our insistence that our European and Asian allies, particularly Japan, take compensatory actions—that is, greater arms purchases from us or investment of their foreign exchange holdings in United States long-term securities—has serious domestic political consequences in these countries and has become a major issue in our relations with them.

The Agency for International Development plays a major foreign policy role by selecting recipients of our aid; and like other agencies, it brings its own perspective to the foreign policy process. Since its principal mission is development, it normally concentrates its efforts on those countries which look most promising in terms of development potential. Because its primary concern is to “buy” as much development per dollar as possible, AID may tend to overlook aid given for essentially political purposes.

These are only some of the most important agencies participating in the formulation of foreign policy. There are many others, often with powerful voices and strong domestic constituencies.

The Bureau of the Budget has a major influence through its control over the budgetary process. The Central Intelligence Agency provides information and analysis. The Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior and the Atomic Energy Commission all have a strong voice in international programs falling under their areas of concern. So do USIA, which is in charge of our information programs abroad, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which is in charge of developing and negotiating our positions on disarmament and arms control.

The dispersion of foreign affairs functions among numerous agencies brings benefits as well as problems. Our total foreign affairs programs are so vast and varied that they could never in any case be efficiently concentrated in one agency. Nor would the causes of intra-agency conflicts be obviated by the creation of one super foreign affairs agency, even if that were possible. For these conflicts basically represent an institutional expression of differing policy functions and differing interests. They

would remain present no matter how the Government were organized or reorganized.

Moreover, if programs are to be administered with verve and commitment, it is helpful for agencies to have an independent personality and *esprit de corps*. A dispersion of functions also insures that different interests will have a distinct voice in policy councils.

These are some of the benefits. The problems created by institutional fragmentation and competition are equally important. I will mention just a few of them:

—Foreign policy goals become fuzzier and priorities more ambiguous as we try to straddle competing or even contradictory horses. Policy momentum is lost, and public support is more difficult to generate. With different agencies plugging different views and versions of policies, credibility gaps are also bound to open up.

—Decisions are taken on the basis of past policy or precedent or because they satisfy the widest interagency interest rather than because of overall objectives.

—Bureaucratic scrapping and interplay become ends in themselves, with decisions the product of a kind of gamesmanship and heaving and hauling to see who can come out on top. Senior officials are brought into the process, not so much to provide a reflective detached view as to escalate the bargaining between agencies.

—Agencies with larger budgets or programs, or with vocal or powerful constituencies, or with the backing of friendly committee chairmen in the Congress, can often carry the day for their point of view even though objective policy considerations dictate otherwise.

Central Role of Department of State

A more soundly coordinated and better rationalized means of making decisions will not be easy to bring about. I do not pretend to have simple answers or solutions, though I do have a few suggestions culled from my experience.

Policy determination is a continuous process, one that is unending and immensely complicated. Established guidelines are challenged daily by the new events and requirements. Decisions made at the top of any organization can also be easily diluted or rendered ineffective by people down the line if they do not suit them or their interpretation of the needs of their agency.

Bureaucratic foot-dragging can destroy programs which depend on timing for their success. Such opportunities are particularly ripe in the field.

This is one reason why I believe the primacy of one foreign affairs agency must be clearly and unmistakably established. The authority of the President in this area is firmly established. He makes his authority most clearly felt and most effective by making one agency—the Department of State—his principal foreign policy arm. He delegates it, in effect, to take a central role in formulating and coordinating foreign policy on a Government-wide basis in his behalf. The unique role of the State Department, incidentally, is one that has been long recognized. This is the reason, for example, why every ambassador overseas acts as a personal representative of the President.

→ The Department is really the only agency capable of making overall foreign policy decisions. The White House does not have the time or the staff to stay informed on the myriad issues that must be handled daily. To attempt to build a miniature State Department in the White House only duplicates responsibility and dilutes authority. This is not, of course, to say that the President should not have the services of a first-rate staff. But the purpose of such a staff should be to aid the President himself in his work, not to create yet another center of power vying for influence in the making of foreign policy decisions.

→ The Senior Interdepartmental Group, an interagency coordinating body composed of the Under Secretary of State and Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Administrator of AID, has proved a very useful tool for providing central leadership. It provides an arena in which dis-

puted issues can be discussed and thrashed out at a sufficiently high level so that the decisions will be properly implemented. In this body, as well as in equivalent ones at the assistant-secretary level, the State Department representative acts as chairman. They have been exceedingly helpful in making other agencies take a look at problems from a less parochial, more functional, overall point of view.

Finally, I think that if foreign policy is to be responsive to the wishes of the President, the lines of communication must be open both ways. Those at the top must listen as well as command, and they must be well informed on the problems being dealt with at the levels below them. The guidance they provide must be specific and operationally meaningful. Vague aspirations are too easily translated by agencies or their components as authorization to go running off in any direction they choose.

With a new administration soon to take the helm, this is a good time to take a critical look at the problems I have tried to outline.

We can no longer afford the luxury of assigning agencies overseas responsibilities that are overlapping or inconsistent. Only by giving closer attention to this subject can we prevent the diffusion of scarce national assets in uncoordinated programs. And only this can bring our relations with other nations into a healthier balance of responsibility and overseas involvement.

Bringing about the changes that are needed will require boldness, imagination, and vigorous new ideas. Your views, your advice, and your help will be an enormously valuable asset to those who must do the job. I hope they will be forthcoming. For this, after all, is how a democratic society sustains its strength. This is how it moves forward—by the spirited involvement of its citizens in its affairs.

SECRET

25X1A

SIG PLANNING MEETING
Wednesday, 4 December 1968



FIRM ITEMS

25X1A

1. Japan: Relations with the US [REDACTED]
2. South Korea: Reaction to discovery of proportions of infiltration [REDACTED]
3. Guyana: Election prospects [REDACTED]
4. USSR: Merchant Marine tactics [REDACTED]
5. Nigeria-USSR: Relations and supply [REDACTED]
6. Pakistan: Political [REDACTED]

25X1A

25X1A

25X1A

25X1A

NOTE: Please submit items directly to Presentation Staff by
1200 on Friday.

SECRET